

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

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NOFORN

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR VS

SUBJ: ICCS: INDONESIAN CHAIRMAN'S TACTICS

REF: OTTAWA 0859

1. IN COMMENTING ON REFTEL , IT STRIKES US AS RATHER AN OVER-STATEMENT OF THE CURRENT ICCS SITUATION TO SAY THAT INDONESIAN CHAIRMAN HAS INCREASINGLY ADOPTED PRG POSITION IN ATTEMPT MEDIATE BETWEEN ICCS DISPUTANTS. EXPERIENCE HAS THUS FAR TENDED TO SHOW THAT TO KEEP THE ORGANIZATION VIABLE (OR AT MINIMUM, TO KEEP IT FROM FALLING APART DURING THE INCUMBENCY OF A CHAIRMANSHIP), A CHAIRMAN FINDS HIMSELF IN THE POSITION OF COMPROMISING WITH WHAT OTHERWISE MIGHT BE UNPALATABLE. AN EXAMPLE OF THIS WAS AMBASSADOR ESZTERGALYOS' LETTER TO THE FPJMC, IN HIS CAPACITY AS ICCS CHAIRMAN ON MAR 6, REGRETTING THE DRV PULLOUT OF MR1 AND MR2, FOR WHICH, CANDEL INFORMS US, HE CAUGHT CONSIDERABLE FLAK FROM THE DRV. AN ALTERNATIVE TO THIS IS THE INACTIVITY AND STALLING THAT CHARACTERIZED THE HUNGARIAN CHAIRMANSHIP DURING THE LAST HALF

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OF MARCH.

2. THE INDONESIANS HAVE BEEN CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTIVE OF CANDEL'S EFFORTS, BOTH IN SAIGON AND IN REGIONAL AND SUBREGIONAL TEAMS. REPORT AFTER INVESTIGATORY REPORT HAS REFLECTED THE ICCS SPLIT, WITH THE INDONESIANS WEIGHING THE EVIDENCE, AND SIGIND WITH CANDEL. WE HAVE SEEN NO SIGNS OF ANY CANDEL- INDODEL SPLIT DEVELOPING. AT SAME TIME, EVEN BEFORE THEIR CHAIRMANSHIP BEGAN, INDODEL HAD ATTEMPTED FROM TIME TO TIME TO MEDIATE ICCS DIFFERENCES, AND TO ADOPT GO- BETWEEN ROLE. AS CANDEL, OWING TO POLARIZATION BROUGHT ABOUT BY HUNGDEL/ POLDEL INTRANSIGENCE, INCREASINGLY GOES ON INDEPENDENT PATH IN ATTEMPT CARRY OUT MEANINGFUL INVESTIGATIONS (AND COMPILE DOSSIER AS HAVING DONE SO), PERHAPS INDODEL WILL FEEL UNDER FUTHER OBLIGATION TO ATTEMPT TO SALVAGE MATTERS THROUGH MORE EMPHASIS ON GO- BETWEEN ROLE.

3. TWO RECENT CASES IN WHICH INDODEL SIDED WITH HUNGDEL/ POLDEL HAVE PROBABLY BEEN IRKSOME TO CANDEL, AND ALMOST CERTAINLY RELATE TO CANDEL CONCERN EXPRESSED REFTEL. IN MAR 23 PLENARY, HUNGARIAN/ POLES SOUGHT TO ORDER ANOTHER IVESTIGATION OF SA HUYNH, WITH OBVIOUS INTENT OF EXPUNGING FROM ALL ICCS RECORDS EARLIER UNANIMOUS REGION II REPORT WHICH HAD SUSTAINED GVN CASE. (ICCS MAR 7 PLENARY HAD REFUSED TO SEND REPORT TO FPJMC SINCE TWO COMMUNIST REPS ARGUED REPORT WAS INCOMPLETE IN ABSENCE PRG PARTICIPATION IN INVESTIGATION.) INDODEL VOTED WITH HUNGARIANS AND POLES FOR SECOND INVESTIGATION, PERHAPS NOT PERCEIVING MOTIVATION OF TWO EASTERN EUROPEANS. IN SECOND CASE, APR 5 PLENARY HAGGLED OVER TEXT OF INDODEL DRAFTED LETTER, PROPOSED FOR DISPATCH TO TPJMC, CALLING ON LATTER TO TAKE CERTAIN STEPS RE TONG LE CHAN. CANDEL OBJECTED TO TEXT OF LETTER ON GROUNDS IT DIRECTED THE TPJMC IN TOO SPECIFIC TERMS THE MANNER WHICH THE CEASEFIRE SHOULD BE EFFECTED. POLES AND HUNGARIANS SUPPORTED INDODEL CHAIRMAN'S DRAFT. IT MIGHT BE NOTED THAT IN DISCUSSION WITH EMBOFFS APR 6, POLDEL EMPLOYED BOTH ABOVE- CITEC CASES AS EXAMPLES OF CANADIAN OBSTRUCTIONISM IN ICCS.

4. DURING MOST RECENT ICCS CRISIS BROUGHT ABOUT BY PRG SHOOT- DOWN OF ICCS HELICOPTERS ON APR 7, AMBASSADOR DHARSONO HAS TRIED TO REPRESENT ICCS INTERESTS WITH PRG IN FORTHRIGHT MANNER, ACTING IMMEDIATELY TO ACCEPT OUR OFFER OF SAR HELP IN RESCUING SURVIVORS, AND PRESSING POINT WITH TPJMC UNTIL SMALL HOURS APRIL 8 . ALTHOUGH PUBLIC STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN CANDEL'S PROVINCE, WE BE-
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LIEVE THAT DHARSONO HAS ACTED VIGOROUSLY IN A FRUSTRATING SITUA-

TION.

5. CANDEL' S SEARCH FOR AN ALLY IS AT THIS POINT UNDERSTANDABLE, AS IS THEIR DEFENSIVENESS REGARDING INDODEL AS CHAIRMAN. AS CANDEL HAS BEEN INCREASINGLY FORCED INTO MORE RIGID POSTURE, TEMPTATION MUST SURELY EXIST TO REGARD AND INDODEL ATTEMPTS AT GO-BETWEEN ROLE AS APOSTASY. AT PRESENT, HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT INDODEL DOES NOT CONTEMPLATE ANYTHING MORE SINISTER THAN COMPLETING THEIR CHAIRMANSHIP WITHOUT COMPLETE SHAMBLES. TO SOME EXTENT IT MAY HAVE BEEN NECESSARY TO TAKE PRG AT OCCASIONAL FACE VALUE IN ORDER TO DO SO. THIS, HOWEVER, MAY ALSO PROVE TO BE A CASUALTY OF THE HELICOPTER SHOOT- DOWN. WHITEHOUSE

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